

Message Text

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S/S-OP. JOHNSON/HOGANSON

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USMISSION GENEVA NIACT IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV NIACT IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 225086

NODIS

GENEVA FOR DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY SAUNDERS

FOL REPEAT OF CAIRO 9362 TO SECSTATE SEP 20

QTE:

X S E C R E T CAIRO 9362

NODIS

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM AMBASSADOR

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, XF, GE, IS, US

SUBJECT: HANDLING OF PROTOCOL IN GENEVA WORKING GROUP

REF: STATE 224933

1. SUMMARY. MADE PRESENTATION REFTEL ABOUT
INITIALING/SIGNING OF PROTOCOL AND ASKED FAHMY TO
RECONSIDER. HE WAS ADAMANT. WHILE ACKNOWLEDGING
US PROPOSAL IS AN INTEGRAL PART OF AGREEMENT, HE
DENIED THAT THIS MEANS THAT PROTOCOL CANNOT BE
SIGNED UNTIL CONGRESSIONAL ACTION TAKES PLACE.

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PROTOCOL SHOULD BE SIGNED WHEN COMPLETED AND

IMPLEMENTATION SHOULD BEGIN WITHOUT DELAY. HE INSTRUCTED COL. UWAIDI, NOW HERE FROM GENEVA, THAT THE EGYPTIAN DELEGATION IS TO SIGN THE PROTOCOL AS SOON AS IT IS COMPLETED EVEN IF THE ISRAELIS ONLY INITIAL. IN THAT EVENT, EGYPTIANS WILL NOT GO BACK TO SIGN AGAIN AFTER CONGRESSIONAL ACTION, AND SILAASVUO WILL HAVE TO TAKE IT TO THE ISRAELIS TO SIGN. I POINTED OUT UNILATERAL EGYPTIAN SIGNING WILL NOT CAUSE THE AGREEMENT TO GO INTO FORCE AND WILL ONLY SPOTLIGHT PROCEDURAL DIFFERENCE. FAHMY REMAINED UNMOVED AND HAD GAMASY REITERATE ABOVE INSTRUCTIONS TO UWAIDI. END SUMMARY.

2. AS REPORTED IN ANOTHER TELEGRAM, I RAN INTO A HORNET'S NEST THIS MORNING WITH FAHMY, GAMASY AND SOME OF THEIR STAFFS IN CONNECTION WITH THE GENEVA TALKS. AT THE END OF THEIR OUTRAGED PRESENTATION TO ME, I SAID I HAD TO RAISE THE MATTER OF THE SIGNING OF THE PROTOCOL THAT FAHMY AND I HAD DISCUSSED YESTERDAY. I POINTED OUT THAT THE TERMS OF THE BASIC AGREEMENT STIPULATE IT WILL ENTER INTO FORCE UPON SIGNATURE OF THE PROTOCOL. SINCE THE ASSIGNMENT OF US CIVILIAN PERSONNEL TO THE EARLY WARNING SYSTEM UNDER THE US PROPOSAL IS AN INTEGRAL PART OF THE AGREEMENT, AND THE US PROPOSAL REQUIRES US CONGRESSIONAL APPROVAL, IT FOLLOWS THAT THE AGREEMENT CANNOT ENTER INTO FORCE UNTIL SUCH APPROVAL HAS BEEN OBTAINED. I STRESSED THAT, QUITE APART FROM WHAT THE ISRAELIS HAVE SUGGESTED, THIS IS A US PROBLEM. IT IS LACK OF US CONGRESSIONAL ACTION, NOT THE ISRAELIS, WHICH IS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE SLIGHT DELAY. I GAVE OUR PRESENT ESTIMATE THAT FINAL CONGRESSIONAL ACTION ON THE PROPOSAL WILL TAKE PLACE DURING WEEK OF SEPTEMBER 29, AFTER WHICH SIGNATURE AND ENTRY INTO FORCE CAN TAKE PLACE PROMPTLY. WE BELIEVE THAT THE IDEA OF INITIALING THE PROTOCOL WHEN COMPLETED, AND THEREBY FREEZING THE TEXT, IS A PRACTICAL WAY TO DEAL WITH WHAT WE ANTICIPATE WILL BE NO MORE THAN A SHORT INTERVAL BETWEEN COMPLETION OF THE PROTOCOL AND OF OUR CONGRESSIONAL

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ACTION. I URGED FAHMY TO RECONSIDER THE PROBLEM IN THE LIGHT OF WHAT I SAID AND CONCUR IN THE PROPOSED INITIALING PROCEDURE.

3. GAMASY GROANED THAT THERE WAS MORE DELAY. FAHMY REMAINED ADAMANT. WHILE HE AGREED THAT THE US PROPOSAL IS AN INTEGRAL PART OF THE AGREEMENT, HE INSISTED THAT THIS DOES NOT MEAN EVERYTHING HAS TO

STAND STILL BECAUSE OF CONGRESSIONAL ACTION ON THAT PROPOSAL. GOE CANNOT ACCEPT THE PROPOSITION THAT THIS MEANS NOTHING CAN PROCEED. THERE IS NOTHING IN THE BASIC AGREEMENT OR THE ANNEX, HE INSISTED, THAT SAYS SIGNATURE OF THE PROTOCOL CANNOT TAKE PLACE UNTIL THE US PROPOSAL IS FINALIZED. THE REFERENCE IN THE AGREEMENT TO THE EARLY WARNING SYSTEM IS NOT CONDITIONAL. WE ARE SIDING WITH THE ISRAELIS, HE CHARGED, WHOSE SOLE PURPOSE AS WE WELL KNOW IS TO DELAY AS LONG AS POSSIBLE. TO MAKE MATTERS WORSE, ALL OF THIS HAPPENS WHEN STRIDENT SYRIAN, PALESTINIAN AND RADICAL ARAB CRITICISM OF SADAT CONTINUES UNABATED. THE PROTOCOL, HE INSISTED, SHOULD BE SIGNED WHEN IT IS COMPLETED REGARDLESS OF THE STATUS OF CONGRESSIONAL ACTION AT THAT TIME.

4. I TOLD FAHMY THAT IT IS MY UNDERSTANDING THAT THE ISRAELIS WILL NOT DO SO UNTIL CONGRESSIONAL ACTION ON THE US PROPOSAL IS COMPLETED. THE ISRAELI POSITION IS REASONABLE, AND, WHILE WE REGRET THE DELAY, WE BELIEVE IT SHOULD NOT BE MORE THAN A WEEK OR SO. I URGED THAT HE RECONSIDER. FAHMY RESPONDED THAT HE ACCEPTS OUR WORD THAT FAVORABLE ACTION WILL EVENTUALLY BE TAKEN BY THE CONGRESS ON THE US PROPOSAL. THERE IS NO REASON WHY ISRAEL, WITH ITS GREAT INFLUENCE IN THE CONGRESS AND ABILITY TO MANIPULATE THE JEWISH LOBBY TO MAKE THE CONGRESS BEND TO ITS WILL, SHOULD NOT DO THE SAME. HE RECALLED THE CONCERN HE HAD EXPRESSED TO YOU THAT THE ISRAELIS WILL ALLOW EVERYTHING TO BE COMPLETED AND THEN WORK ON THE CONGRESS TO DISAPPROVE THE US PROPOSAL SO AS TO DELAY THINGS MORE. I TOLD FAHMY THERE IS NO EVIDENCE TO SUGGEST ANY SUCH ISRAELI
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INTENTION. NOR SHOULD HE BELIEVE THE CONGRESS WILL SIMPLY DO ISRAELIS BIDDING, ALTHOUGH IN THIS CASE AS HE KNEW THE ISRAELIS WANT THE US MANNED-STATIONS BADLY AND SUPPORT THE CONCEPT.

5. FAHMY WOULD NOT BUDGE. HE INSTRUCTED COL. UWAIID, WHO IS GOING BACK TO GENEVA THIS EVENING, THAT GENERAL MAGHDOUB IS TO SIGN RPT SIGN THE PROTOCOL WHEN IT IS COMPLETED REGARDLESS OF WHAT THE ISRAELIS DO. IF THE ISRAELIS SIMPLY WANT TO INITIAL, THAT IS THEIR BUSINESS. THE EGYPTIANS WILL NOT RPT NOT SIGN AGAIN ONCE CONGRESSIONAL ACTION IS COMPLETED. SILAASVUO CAN THEREAFTER TAKE THE DOCUMENT TO THE ISRAELIS FOR THEIR SIGNATURE. I REMINDED HIM THAT ANY UNILATERAL EGYPTIAN SIGNING WILL NOT MEAN THAT

THE AGREEMENT IS IN FORCE. BOTH SIDES MUST SIGN BEFORE THIS IS THE CASE. GOE WILL NOT BE ACCELERATING IMPLEMENTATION BY SUCH ACTION, BUT WILL SIMPLY SPOTLIGHT A PROCEDURAL DISAGREEMENT. FAHMY WOULD NOT BE MOVED. IF THE ISRAELIS DELAY IMPLEMENTING THE AGREEMENT, HE STATED, EGYPT WILL LET IT BE KNOWN. IN ANY CASE, EGYPT'S SIGNING WILL DEMONSTRATE GOE'S DESIRE TO MOVE FORWARD. CONVERSELY, ISRAELIS' FAILURE TO DO SO WILL DEMONSTRATE HER DESIRE TO DELAY. GAMASY REPEATED THESE INSTRUCTIONS TO UWAIFI.

6. COMMENT: THE EGYPTIANS ARE BEING FOOLISH, BUT THEIR CONCERN IS PROMPTED BY AN OVERWHELMING SUSPICION THAT THE ISRAELIS MEAN TO DELAY AS LONG AS POSSIBLE. HAD THERE BEEN A LITTLE MORE ISRAELI FORTHCOMINGNESS AT THE GENEVA TALKS, THERE MIGHT HAVE BEEN A LITTLE MORE RESCEPTIVITY HERE. UNFORTUNATELY, AFTER UWAIDI' REPORT, THE EGYPTIANS ARE SO SOURED THAT THEY VIEW EVERY ISRAELI SUGGESTION AS GUILF. WE COULD GO OVER FAHMY'S AND GAMASY'S HEADS AND APPEAL TO THE PRESIDENT, BUT I DOUBT THAT HIS RESPONSE WILL BE DIFFERENT. HE, TOO, IS FED UP AND TENSE BACUSE OF ARAB ATTACKS. HE WANTS TO GET IT ALL OUT OF THE WAY. IN THE CIRCUMSTANCES, IT SEEMS TO ME WE HAVE THE CHOICE OF (A) ASKING THE
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ISRAELIS ALSO TO SIGN ON THE UNDERSTANDING THAT FAVORABLE CONGRESSIONAL ACTION IS EXPECTED SOON AND THAT THE FIRST IMPLEMENTATION STEPS ARE IN ANY CASE NOT SCHEDULED TO TAKE PLACE FOR SEVERAL WEEKS, OR (B) LETTING THE EGYPTIANS SIGN AND THE ISRAELIS INITIAL WITH THE UNDERSTANDING THAT THE AGREEMENT DOES NOT GO INTO FORCE UNTIL BOTH SIDES HAVE SIGNED.

7. SUGGEST THIS MESSAGE BE PASSED TO GENEVA FOR HAL SAUNDERS.
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